

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 04060 231356Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-15 OMB-01 DHA-05 /076 W  
-----107457 240633Z /20

R 231233Z SEP 77  
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1789  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 4060

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, CSCE, CZ  
SUBJ: INTERVIEW WITH EXILED CZECH PARTY LEADER

1. SEPTEMBER 21 DAGENS NYHETER CARRIES AN INTERVIEW WITH ZDENEK MLYNAR, A SECRETARY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY UNDER DUBCEB AND RECENT ACTIVIST IN THE CHARTER 77 MOVEMENT. THE INTERVIEW TOOK PLACE IN VIENNA, WHERE MLYNAR HAS BEEN LIVING FOR THE PAST TWO MONTHS SINCE BEING EXPELLED FROM HIS COUNTRY.

2. MLYNAR DOES NOT BELIEVE IN CHANGES BEING INITIATED FROM ABOVE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. HOWEVER, HE DOES FEEL ACTIONS SUCH AS CHARTER 77 DO HAVE HOME VALUE. HE BELIEVES SUCH "PRESSURE FROM BELOW" REPRESENTS A MUCH MORE WIDESPREAD SENTIMENT THAN INDICATED BY THE 700 SIGNERS OF THE DOCUMENT WHO WERE WILLING TO RISK THEIR JOBS AND FREEDOM BY PUBLICLY ASSOCIATING THEMSELVES WITH THE MOVEMENT. HE FEELS THAT THE CHARTER 77 EFFECT WILL BE MORE LONG-TERM IN THAT IT KEEPS THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOREMOST IN THE MINDS OF CZECH CITIZENS.

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3. MLYNAR UNDERLINED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE IN PROVIDING AN IMPETUS FOR THE OPPOSITION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. THEY WISHED TO CHALLENGE THE VIEW THEY KNEW WOULD BE PRESENTED BY THE PRAGUE GOVERNMENT THAT IT HAD LIVED UP TO HELSINKI OBLIGATIONS PRECISELY BY "REMINDING THE WORLD ABOUT THE REGIME'S LIES." HE REALIZES THAT THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE CANNOT SOLVE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS IN COUNTRIES SUCH AS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, BUT FEELS THAT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE WEST NOT REMAIN QUIET ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN BELGRADE. HE FEELS DETENTE SHOULD ENHANCE A DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN ALL OF EUROPE, NOT JUST THE EAST.

4. MLYNAR IS CLEARLY OF THE OPINION THAT NO "KADARIZATION" POLICY IS AT HAND IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. FIRST, THE SOVIET POSITION IS DIFFERENT NOW. IN THE LATE 1950S AND EARLY 1960S, KHRUSHCHEV WISHED TO CONTINUE WITH A DESTALINIZATION POLICY, THUS MAKING SOVIET INTEREST COINCIDE WITH THOSE OF HUNGARIAN CP OFFICIALS WISHING TO APPLY A FLEXIBLE POLICY. AFTER 1968, MOSCOW DID NOT WISH TO TAKE ANY MORE RISKS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA; NO ONE IN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS AN INTEREST IN SUPPORTING LIBERALIZATION IN THAT COUNTRY, HE FEELS. FINALLY, HE BELIEVES THERE IS NO ONE NOW IN THE TOP PARTY LEADERSHIP IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA WHO IS WILLING OR ABLE TO PURSUE A "KARDARIST" LINE. KENNEDY-MINOTT

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**TAGS:** PINT, SHUM, CZ, CSCE, (MLYNAR, ZDENEK)  
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**Review Markings:**  
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